

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 RSR-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-02

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15

USIA-12 NEA-10 TRSE-00 MBFR-03 SAJ-01 IO-13 ACDA-19

OMB-01 AEC-11 EA-11 NIC-01 /161 W  
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R 251728 Z JUN 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5896

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION BERLIN

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

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E. O. 11652: N/ A

TAGS: PFOR, US, UR, GW

SUBJECT: WEST GERMAN PRESS COMMENTARY ON US- SOVIET  
SUMMIT

SUMMARY: MOST DAILIES HAVE SO FAR COMMENTED IN RATHER CAUTIOUS BUT BALANCED TONES ON THE RESULTS OF THE SUMMIT, NOTING THAT THE AGREEMENTS REACHED ARE IN LINE WITH AND INDEED SUPPORT THE DETENTE POLICY OF EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS BUT ALSO POINTING OUT THAT US- SOVIET BILATERALISM RAISES SERIOUS QUESTIONS FOR THE EUROPEANS. ONE COMMENTATOR SEES IN THE AGREEMENT ON PREVENTING NUCLEAR WAR A US EFFORT TO GET THE DANGERS OF SOVIET- CHINESE CONFRONTATION UNDER BETTER CONTROL. THE MOST NEGATIVE REACTION WE HAVE SO FAR SEEN IS IN SPRINGER'S DIE WELT; IT ARGUES THAT THIS IS THE BEGINNING OF THE END FOR NATO. END SUMMARY.

1. A FRONT PAGE EDITORIAL IN THE JUNE 25 EDITION OF  
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THE FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG STATES THAT A "NEW TONE" PREVAILS AS A RESULT OF THE SUMMIT, EVEN THOUGH THE OLD DIFFERENCES REMAIN. RELATIONS BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND MOSCOW HAVE NOT BEEN SO INTENSIVE SINCE THE TIME OF ROOSEVELT. THAT, THE PAPER WRITES, WILL HAVE CONSEQUENCES IN VIETNAM AND PERHAPS, BEFORE LONG, IN THE MID- EAST, AS WELL AS IN EUROPE. THE ATOMIC GIANTS ARE MOVING STEADILY BACK FROM THE BRINK AND HAVE WORKED OUT A CODE OF BEHAVIOUR MEANT TO PROVIDE MORE SECURITY WHILE MAKING IT POSSIBLE TO REDUCE SECURITY'S COST. MEANWHILE, THE ARTICLE SAYS, EUROPE AND CHINA ARE LOOKING ON. THE ASSURANCES GIVEN TO ALLIANCE PARTNERS INSPIRE CONFIDENCE, AND YET, FOR THE EUROPEANS, QUESTIONS REMAIN. "WHAT PRICE WOULD NIXON PAY FOR AN AGREEMENT ON THE LIMITATION AND CONTROL OF MIRV'S? COULD ATOMIC WEAPONS IN THE NATO AREA THEN BECOME THE SUBJECT OF NEGOTIATIONS? WHAT SECURITY WOULD WE EUROPEANS THEN HAVE, WHO, ACCORDING TO KISSINGER, POSSESS ONLY 'REGIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES', NOT 'GLOBAL OBLIGATIONS' LIKE AMERICA." DESPITE THESE QUESTIONS, THE EDITORIAL DRAWS A POSITIVE BALANCE. ALTHOUGH THE CONTRASTS BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES REMAIN, THE SOVIET UNION APPEARS TO BE SEEKING MORE CONTACT WITH THE WEST OUT OF A GREATER SENSE OF INTERNAL SECURITY AS WELL AS OUT OF ECONOMIC NECESSITY. THUS BOTH SIDES HOPE TO REACH AGREEMENTS MAKING POSSIBLE A LIGHTENING OF THE DEFENSE BURDEN. THIS, THE PAPER OBSERVES, IS "THE SPIRIT OF SAN CLEMENTE".

2. IN A LONGER AND SOMEWHAT MORE CAUTIOUS EDITORIAL IN THE JUNE 23 FAZ, NIKOLAS BENCKISER NOTES THE INEVITABLE AMBIGUITY FOR EUROPEANS OF HARMONIOUS US- USSR RELATIONS. THE WORLD HAS ALWAYS BREATHED MORE EASILY WHEN THE TWO SUPER POWERS HAVE MANAGED TO RESOLVE THEIR DIFFERENCES AND AVOID NUCLEAR CONFRONTATION; YET AT THE SAME TIME THERE HAS ALWAYS ARISEN THE QUESTION OF SUPER- POWER "COMPLICITY". THIS LATEST SUMMIT. BENCKISER WRITES, AGAIN FORCES US TO ASK WHETHER WE ARE ON THE THRESHOLD OF A "NEW WORLD," IN WHICH BIPOLARITY IS BEING REPLACED NOT SO MUCH BY A MULTIPOLAR SYSTEM AS BY A "GLOBAL DOMINANCE". BENCKISER, UNCLASSIFIED

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WHO IS SATISFIED TO RAISE THIS QUESTION WITHOUT ATTEMPTING TO ANSWER IT, IS ALSO CONCERNED OVER THE MOTIVATION FOR SOVIET ECONOMIC DEALS. THE WEST, HE SAYS, HAS EVERY REASON TO WELCOME EFFORTS TO GIVE THE SOVIET CONSUMER A BETTER BREAK, BUT UNFORTUNATELY ALL PAST EXPERIENCE INDICATES THAT THE USSR WILL USE ITS NEW ECONOMIC STRENGTH ALSO, AND INDEED PRIMARILY,

TO EXPAND ITS MILITARY CAPACITY. IF THIS SHOULD  
HAPPEN, IT WOULD DESTROY WHAT HAS HITHERTO BEEN THE  
BASIS OF DETENTE-- I. E. THAT " BALANCE OF THE POWERS  
IN THE FORM OF A BALANCE OF TERROR WHICH IS WHAT  
ULTIMATELY LED TO THE ' COMPLICITY' OF THE SUPER POWERS."

3. HERBERT VON BORCH, WRITING FOR THE SUEDEDEUTSCHE  
ZEITUNG FROM WASHINGTON, SAYS THAT THE AGREEMENT TO  
PREVENT NUCLEAR WAR, WHICH HE DESCRIBES AS " NUCLEAR

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RULES OF ETIQUETTE", WAS THE ONLY SURPRISE PRODUCED  
BY THE SUMMIT CONFERENCE. HE CALLS IT A " FASCINATING  
AND HIGHLY AMBIVALENT DOCUMENT, WHOSE EFFECTS IN  
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS CANNOT YET BE MEASURED." IN IT,  
HE SAYS, THE SUPER POWERS " ELEVATE THEIR RELATIONS  
WITH THIRD STATES INTO A SPHERE OF COMMON RESPONSIB-  
ILITY, SOMETHING WHICH OUTSIDE OF ALLIANCES IS  
WITHOUT PRECEDENT. IT IS AT THIS POINT, " VON BORCH

ARGUES, THAT THE INVISIBLE PRESENCE OF CHINA AT THE SUMMIT MEETING BECAME CLEAR. WHO ELSE COULD BE MEANT WHEN AMERICA AND RUSSIA AGREE ON URGENT CONSULTATIONS IN THE EVENT ONE OF THEM IS IN DANGER OF ENTERING INTO NUCLEAR CONFLICT ' WITH ANOTHER COUNTRY'. IN THESE RULES OF CONDUCT, WASHINGTON HAS UNDERTAKEN THE ROLE OF A BROKER BETWEEN RUSSIA AND CHINA." VON BORCH EXPECTS THAT DR. KISSENGER WILL SOON FLY TO PEKING TO TRY TO EXPLAIN TO THE CHINESE THAT THEY HAVE BEEN GIVEN WHAT AMOUNTS TO" A PROTECTIVE GUARANTEE," BUT HE OBSERVES IN THIS CONNECTION THAT  
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THE MAOISTS ARE PERHAPS NO MORE LIKELY THAN THE EUROPEANS TO WELCOME AN AGREEMENT THAT LOOKS LIKE " A DIVISION OF WORLD DOMINANCE". COMMENCING ON THE VISIT AS A WHOLE, VON BORCH SEES A KIND OF HIDDEN " LINKAGE" BETWEEN THE SOVIET DESIRE FOR US TECHNOLOGY AND CAPITAL AND THE US DESIRE FOR GREATER SOVIET FLEXIBILITY IN THE SALT NEGOTIATIONS. HE EXPRESSES THE VIEW THAT ONLY THE ASSURANCE OF US ECONOMIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL ASSISTANCE MAKES IT POSSIBLE FOR BREZHNEV TO ENVISION GIVING UP SOVIET QUANTITATIVE SUPERIORITY IN NUCLEAR SYSTEMS AS A BALANCE TO US QUALITATIVE ADVANTAGES.

4. THE MOST CRITICAL STATEMENT ON THE VISIT THAT WE HAVE SEEN SO FAR WAS WRITTEN BY HEINZ BARTH IN " DIE WELT" ( SPRINGER PRESS). BARTH SEES THE RESULTS OF THE VISIT AS CLEAR EVIDENCE OF A " TWILIGHT OF THE ALLIANCES" AND PUTS THE BLAME PARTLY ON PRESIDENT NIXON' S DOMESTIC DIFFICULTIES, PARTLY ON THE FRG' S EASTERN POLICY. HE SAYS THAT IT WAS NOT LONG AGO THAT PRESIDENT NIXON WARNED AGAINST EUPHORIA WITH REGARD TO DETENTE. " NOW," BARTH SAYS, THE PRESIDENT' S INTERNAL DIFFICULTIES HAVE " CAUSED HIM TO OVERSTEP THE BOUNDARY SEPARATING HIS LEGITIMATE AMBITION TO GO DOWN IN HISTORY AS A PRESIDENT OF PEACE FROM A POLICY OF CONTRADICTIONS AND ILLUSIONS. IT IS AN ILLUSION IF HE THINKS THAT BILATERAL AGREEMENT HE CONCLUDED WITH BREZHNEV ON THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WARS WILL REMAIN WITHOUT CONSEQUENCES FOR THE COHESION OF NATO. ARTICLE 6 OF THE AGREEMENT, WHICH HAS NO TIME LIMIT, PROVIDES THAT IT DOES NOT AFFECT OBLIGATIONS TOWARDS THE RESPECTIVE ALLIANCE PARTNERS. THIS CLAUSE IS NOT WORTH THE PAPER IT IS WRITTEN ON." THE AGREEMENT TO CONSULT, IN BARTH' S VIEW, " REMOVES THE LAST VESTIGE OF CREDIBILITY FROM THE AMERICAN READINESS TO RESPOND TO A MASSIVE CONVENTIONAL ATTACK FROM THE EAST BY COMING TO WESTERN EUROPE' S AID WITH ATOMIC WEAPONS." BARTH DESCRIBES AS " HOPELESS" ANYONE WHO " DOES NOT NOW

UNDERSTAND THAT BILATERALISM BETWEEN AMERICA AND THE  
SOVIET UNION WILL HENCEFORTH HAVE ABSOLUTE PRIORITY  
OVER THE MULTILATERAL ALLIANCE OBLIGATIONS OF THE  
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TWO SIDES." HE CONCLUDES BY SAYING THAT THIS MAY HAVE  
BEEN AN UNAVOIDABLE DEVELOPMENT BUT THAT IT WAS  
" ACCELERATED BY THE MAKERS OF OUR EASTERN POLICY IN  
BONN."  
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